

Boeing Company. Working in partnership with the FAA, these inspections were undertaken quickly and as a result, a potentially disastrous situation was averted.

I, for one, feel re-assured this morning because of the actions taken by the FAA. I have always been confident that FAA Administrator Garvey would do an outstanding job. Her actions over the weekend have only deepened my confidence in and respect for her, and for the agency.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent I may consume such time as I may require.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

EULOGY TO SENATOR JENNINGS RANDOLPH

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, it is my sad duty to announce to the Senate the death on last Friday of our former colleague, U.S. Senator Jennings Randolph. With countless West Virginians, and with his many friends across America, I am saddened by the passing of my longtime friend.

Jennings Randolph was a man possessed of a profound love for West Virginia and for the Nation. More, he was a man of seemingly boundless energy and limitless horizons. Both in Government and in his several other fields of interest and expression, Senator Randolph seemed constantly to be looking for ways to assist other people to achieve their own potential, or for avenues by which others might attain a better life for themselves. He was, paradoxically perhaps, an indefatigably optimistic realist. Jennings Randolph knew that life often demands struggle and many times ends in defeat; but for every problem, Jennings believed that good-willed, intelligent, and decent men and women could find solutions to their mutual and individual problems, if they united their talents in a mutual effort to overcome frustration or evil, or if they but reached into their deepest resources of character.

An educator, writer, public speaker, aviation enthusiast, corporate executive, a Representative and a Senator, Jennings Randolph was a master of many talents. I was honored to serve with him as a colleague, and honored to call him my friend.

If events can foreshadow destinies, perhaps Jennings Randolph's destiny was outlined at his birth, 96 years ago, in 1902. One of Senator Randolph's father's closest friends was the great William Jennings Bryan. Jennings was fond of recounting the anecdote that his father was with Bryan shortly after Jennings' birth. When told of the arrival of a new Randolph male, Bryan asked Mr. Randolph, "Have you named this boy?" "No," the father replied. "Then why don't you give him part of my name as a good Democrat?"

So Jennings Randolph received his name from the perennial Presidential candidate, William Jennings Bryan—a

name that Randolph never tarnished and that he burnished brilliantly in his own career.

I recall another story that Jennings Randolph sometimes told out of his boyhood in Salem, West Virginia. According to Jennings, Salem had a water tower that stood high on a hill above the town.

Jennings said that he told his father and mother, "If I could just get a long pole and * * * climb up on that tank, and hold out that pole, I believe I could touch the sky." That is a story that shows the theme of this man's life—the tale of a boy who wanted to touch the sky. And when that boy became a man, touch the sky he did.

Jennings Randolph graduated from Salem College in 1924. From there he went into newspaper work in Clarksburg, West Virginia, and later in Elkins. A short step more took him onto the faculty of Davis and Elkins College as a professor of speech and journalism, and the director of athletics. Working in that capacity, in 1932 Jennings Randolph was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives, entering as a strong supporter of Franklin D. Roosevelt's "New Deal," and serving in the House until January 3, 1947.

In 1947, he accepted a position as assistant to the President of Capital Airlines and Director of Public Relations. In 1958, however, Jennings Randolph returned to politics. He loved politics; he loved to "Press the flesh." He couldn't get politics out of his blood. So he won election to the U.S. Senate to complete the unexpired term of the late Senator Matthew Mansfield Neely from West Virginia. On November 5, 1958, Jennings took the oath of office as U.S. Senator.

Elected in that same election for a full Senate term, for 26 years, I shared with Jennings Randolph the privilege of representing and serving West Virginia in the United States Senate. That partnership I shall cherish always. No man could have asked for a more generous, dedicated, or thoughtful colleague than I had in Jennings Randolph. And I know from my own experience that Jennings Randolph was certainly a man whose touch reached the sky. In West Virginia to this day, thousands of people bless his name for the deeds that he did for them as a friend and as a faithful public servant.

One of Jennings Randolph's greatest areas of ongoing contribution was to the development and advancement of air flight.

Some may recall the ancient Greek myth of the flight of Icarus. According to that legend, Icarus attempted to fly, using wings attached to his body with wax.

Icarus flew, to be sure. But Icarus flew too close to the sun. The sun melted the wax on Icarus's wings, and he fell into the sea.

Early on, Jennings Randolph became interested in flight. Fortunately for him and for us, Jennings went about getting into the air more safely than Icarus did.

As I mentioned, in 1947, Jennings Randolph became an assistant to the President and Director of Public Relations for Capital Airlines—one of the companies that later formed United Airlines. In that position, for the next eleven years, Jennings Randolph advanced the airline industry here and abroad. While Jennings was with Capital Airlines, however, he undertook one mission that places him on an equal footing with Icarus—in bravery and, of course, Jennings was far more successful than Icarus. On November 6, 1948, with a professional pilot at the controls, Jennings Randolph flew from Morgantown, West Virginia, to the Washington National Airport in a propeller plane fueled with gasoline made from coal. Now, that was just like Jennings Randolph—out there pioneering, not only in flight, but also in the use of fuel in that plane that had a West Virginia Source—coal. Certainly, that project was an act of faith, for which many remember Senator Randolph.

Not as well remembered is Congressman Jennings Randolph's introduction in 1946 of legislation to create a National Air Museum. Three decades later, on July 4, 1976, Senator Randolph dedicated the National Air and Space Museum complex on the Mall in Washington—noted today as one of the most popular tourist attractions in the Nation's Capital.

Jennings Randolph was an advocate of numerous other items of vital legislation as well—legislation to aid the handicapped and black lung victims, legislation to promote clean water and clean air, legislation to provide vocational and career education, and the legislation that created the National Peace Academy in 1983.

In announcing his decision not to run for reelection to the Senate in the 1984 race, Jennings said, " * * * It's been a happy road. I have no regrets. * * * I believe the Bible says there is a season and a time for every purpose. It is time for me not to run for reelection."

That "happy road" was an unparalleled example of citizenship and public service. In an era in which so many seem preoccupied primarily with grasping and grabbing for themselves, Jennings Randolph was committed to exerting himself—his intellect, his energy, and his considerable talents—on behalf, and in behalf, of his fellow citizens, his fellow West Virginians, his fellow Americans, his fellow human beings.

Jennings lived a long time—a full and active life. But all of us, high and low, rich and poor, must one day say goodbye to friends and loved ones in this earthly life and make our journeys to that unknown bourne from which no traveler returns.

It was on last Friday morning that the pallid messenger with the inverted torch beckoned Jennings to depart.

Jennings' passing reminds me of Thomas More's lines.

When I remember all
the friends so linked together

I've seen round me fall
like leaves in wintry weather
I feel like one who treads alone
some banquet hall deserted
whose lights are fled
whose garlands dead
and all but he departed . . .

Whether Jennings, on that last morning, saw a more glorious sun rise with unimaginable splendor above a celestial horizon; whether his dexterous and disciplined faculties are now contending in a higher senate than ours for supremacy; whether he yet remembers us as we remember him, we do not know. These questions are much like the question that came from the lips of that ancient patriarch, a man of Uz, whose name was Job, "If a man dies, shall he live again?"

But we have the consolation expressed by that same man of Uz,
Oh that my words were written in a book and
engraved
With an iron pen, and
lead in the rock forever,
For I know that my
Redeemer liveth and that
in the latter day he shall
Stand upon the earth.

So, Jennings Randolph has crossed the Great Divide.

I think of others who were serving here when Jennings Randolph and I took the oath of office to serve in this Chamber. It was almost 40 years ago. I remember Senators on both sides of the aisle: Senator Aiken, Senator Anderson of New Mexico, Senator Harry Byrd, Sr., of Virginia, Senators Capehart of Indiana, Chavez of New Mexico, Cooper of Kentucky, Dirksen, Douglas of Illinois, Eastland, Ellender, Fulbright, Hayden, Hennings of Missouri, Hickenlooper of Iowa, Hill of Alabama, Holland of Florida, "Scoop" Jackson of Washington, Johnson of Texas, Johnston of South Carolina, Langer of North Dakota, McClellan of Arkansas, Magnuson of Washington, Wayne Morse of Oregon, Murray of Montana, Willis Robertson of Virginia, Richard Russell, Saltonstall of Massachusetts, Stennis of Mississippi, Symington of Missouri, and Milton Young. All of these, and others, were here.

Of that illustrious band which sat in this Chamber when Jennings Randolph and I first entered the Senate, only STROM THURMOND and I remain here.

They are drifting away, these friends of old
Like leaves on the current cast;
With never a break in their rapid flow,
We count them, as one by one they go
Into the Dreamland of the Past.

Erma and I extend our condolences to Jennings' two sons, Jay and Frank, and to others of his family.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Mr. President, it probably would not have been within the nature of the Senator from West Virginia, Senator Jennings Randolph, to object to something that was about to be said about one of his departed colleagues. He was not like that. But I need to report to you, as of course our colleagues know, that Senator Randolph has died. My colleague, Senator BYRD, spoke to the subject, and did so very eloquently.

I think the sad news, of course, is that he is no longer with us. The good news is, in talking with one of his two sons Jay and Frank—and the Senator from West Virginia talked with Jay—he said he died very peacefully on Friday. He was a great defender of all 13 States in the Appalachian Regional Commission, including the State of Mississippi.

It was a very interesting decision, in fact, when Senator Randolph decided to resign. I now can tell a story which I have never told before because it was one of such exquisite sensitivity on the part of the then-senior Senator from West Virginia, Senator Randolph.

No Governor has ever been elected to the U.S. Senate from the position of Governor of West Virginia. It has never happened in our history. There are reasons for that. In any event, my term was expiring as Governor in 1984, and I wanted very much to run for the Senate, but, on the other hand, Senator Randolph was a very, very formidable Senator, obviously a powerful committee chairman, had been in the Congress longer than anybody. He was the only person to reach back to the original first days of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Jr., and he was literally at Franklin Roosevelt's side on a number of occasions when he signed bills. This is an enormous bridge of history and bridge of spirit. I think he wanted to rerun for another term. I don't know that, but it is my feeling that he did, because he was a very young 84. Anyone who knew Jennings Randolph knew him to be hardy, vigorous, strong, and very much in love with his job.

He, understanding my interests, and my understanding his interests, he being obviously by far in the stronger position, asked me to come have breakfast with him at his hideaway. Being senior, he had a very nice hideaway. I had never been to a hideaway before, and rarely have been to one since. He had a nice breakfast served there. There was pleasant conversation. He was very relaxed. Then he simply turned to me and he said, "Jay, would you like to be the next Senator from West Virginia?"

I said "Senator, yes, I would, but not if you, Senator Randolph, want to run for reelection." And I meant that.

Without really pausing anymore than I had, he said, "Well, I think you should be the Senator."

If one thinks back as a Senator of what one has known over the years, it is very rarely that a Senator who has spent virtually all of his life in public service willingly, generously, and warmly gives up his seat, which probably could have been his again, in order to step aside for somebody somewhat younger.

That is not a story I have ever heard told before because I am not sure it has happened before, but it is a story that I am very proud to say today because I told Senator Randolph's son, Jay, that I wanted to tell it today. Jay knew about it because his father had told

him about it. It is something that, better than anything I could say, characterizes the nature of the generosity of this man, which was counteracted on the other side by a ferocity of intensity about his work.

It is very hard to make any other case, but this man was a giant in legislative history, and one could say for no other reason than he served for as long as he did, simply to say, "I served with Franklin Delano Roosevelt." How many times did I hear him talk about Franklin Delano Roosevelt?

He was by nature a man who believed in government—and he was very much a Democrat that way, although he was a conservative Democrat on many social issues—in terms of what is it the people need, what is it the people shall have, what is it that I think I can help them get. In fact, when he made that decision not to run, our unemployment rate in West Virginia was somewhere around 17 or 18 percent. Government was very important to Senator Randolph, and he led his life and his legislative life very much with that in mind.

He and Senator BYRD were elected at the same time in 1958 because there was a special vacancy because of a special circumstance.

Positive, civil, courteous, and kind he was. I asked, before I arose to make these remarks, where he sat, and I was informed that he sat in five different desks. One of them, I think, is the desk from which Senator LEVIN from Michigan just spoke.

Over his time here, he insisted on courtesy in the Senate, something which has been paralleled by his colleague, Senator BYRD, for so many years. I am told by my father-in-law, Senator Percy, who was also his very close friend, that he would often get up and insist on order in the Senate. He was very much a stickler for protocol and order and also for voting from his or her desk, which is something that Senator BYRD also feels very strongly about.

I remember a Senator of kindness, of good humor who was always in an ebullient mood, who actually bounced sometimes when he talked he was so enthusiastic about what he was doing. But he demanded dignity in the treatment of others. He demanded respect in the treatment of others. He was very old-fashioned in his ways and, thus, I think we miss him even more these days.

He did many things. He was always open to new ideas. He was actually, more than 50 years ago, flew an airplane for some distance that was powered entirely by methanol. One, he knew how to fly an airplane, which was unusual; two, he flew an airplane which was powered by methanol, which was almost unprecedented. He involved himself at a very early age, and he did so with extraordinary effectiveness.

I could talk for an hour, which I will not, about what he accomplished. Everybody knows that he really was the

founder of the Appalachian Regional Commission, which has done so much to help not only the State he loved, West Virginia, but 12 other States in addition to that. He was a principal architect of the Interstate Highway System which helps to place him in time, because that was done during, as we know, the middle and late fifties.

I think the proudest of all of his achievements, or the one that caused him to talk the most and to be the most enthusiastic about, was the 26th amendment. He was the author and the driver of the 26th amendment which gave 18-year-olds the right to vote in this country.

He protected the environment with ferocity. He was tremendously interested in coal, as well as the environment, in worker safety and, as I have indicated, in aviation issues, and in just simply countless other areas.

He was prodigious in his volume of output. Of course, that was, in part, because he was chairman of a very powerful committee, and he was chairman of that committee for a very long time. That was in the days when the Senate tended to be more in control by one party than the other for a very long time. He worked with the Scoop Jacksons and the Lyndon Johnsons and all of the others. They were able to accomplish an enormous amount. He did that and he loved it—he simply loved doing that. He simply loved laying pavement out across the wide horizons of our country.

There was an interesting aspect to Senator Randolph. He was intense about all of his work, but he was very much of a U.S. Senator from the State of West Virginia. He accepted full responsibility for the title "U.S. Senator" and acted on all matters that related to that with incisiveness and careful thought. But he liked to say—and often said, and said with great pride—quoting him—"I essentially am a West Virginia Senator. I'm not what you'd call a national Senator or international Senator." I think if he were here today, I am not sure the words would be that different.

And to understand that one has to understand his roots. He was born in this tiny community of Salem, WV, which is now the home of probably as many Japanese students in a Salem-Tokyo University setting as reside anywhere else in this country. His father was the mayor of Salem. He was born with very little money, and he worked his way in farm jobs. He knew agriculture very well. He worked for anybody who would give him a job to put a few dollars in his pocket so he could further his education and improve his possibilities. I liked that about him, because he was utterly a rural Senator, but with an urban reach when it came to the national part of his responsibilities.

He started in journalism and was always a prolific writer. He married Katherine Babb and won election to the House of Representatives in 1932 at

the age of 30. One can do that these days, although one cannot go much younger than that legally. But then it was extraordinary, it was extraordinary to be able to do that. And I indicated he has two sons, Jay and Frank.

So more than 50 years later, I think the occupant of the Presiding Officer's chair will understand that it is quite a feeling for me to have succeeded him, to have been allowed to succeed him by his own gesture of generosity and, frankly, just to be able to succeed him.

He is long remembered in this body, as well as in the House, for the very exceptional nature that he had: High optimism, great confidence, enormous belief in country, and his absolute love for his State. He also—and I will say this in closing—he had a great love for his profession. And in that I think many of us join him. He was not one of those who felt being in public service was some kind of a second choice; I think he felt it was the best choice of all.

He was somebody who honored his craft, who brought great distinction to his craft, who never compromised on his principles. And when he faced a West Virginia audience or a Senate Chamber, he could stand tall and strong and broad shouldered, as he was, and do his work, because he knew he was doing work which was enormously important for helping the people that he so loved from the State of West Virginia.

So this is a day and a time that we have reason to reflect on Jennings Randolph and what made him an exceptional person. It is sad, I think, this tradition in the Senate when we do this about Senators when they die. It would be almost impossible to create a tradition where we did that while they were still living. But it would be nice if they could hear what it was that we say about them. And I suspect that Senator Jennings Randolph is able to hear and to know on this day, and days to succeed, what his colleagues think about him.

I personally am grateful to him for many reasons, as I think should be very obvious. I am not sure that I would be here if it were not for Jennings Randolph. And I know that my colleagues join me in our prayers and our thoughts for his family and in thanking Jennings Randolph for his enormous contribution to a craft which we call public service. And we do that with honor and pride.

I thank the Presiding Officer.

Mr. WYDEN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon is recognized.

Mr. WYDEN. Thank you, Mr. President.

Before the Senator from West Virginia leaves the floor, let me say I thought he was extraordinarily eloquent. I got a chance to know Senator Randolph a bit as a Member of the House. And the Senator's statement here today really sums up the extraordinary qualities of this great man. I am

very pleased to have been able to be here for a few minutes to hear the Senator's very fine speech.

Mr. President, I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ROBERTS). The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The distinguished Senator from Wyoming is recognized.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I be allowed to speak as in morning business for as much time as I may need.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. THOMAS. Thank you.

TRIVIALIZING GOVERNANCE

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, we are not moving along too quickly this morning, so I thought I would take an opportunity to visit about an observation that I have made. We had a few moments ago the remarks by the good Senator from West Virginia about the passing of a former Senator from his State. He talked a bit about the past, a bit about the history of the Senate, and it was extremely interesting. This place, of course, is filled with history, it is filled with tradition, and that is good.

On the other hand, there are changes that have taken place, and one of them is a little troubling to me. It does seem as if we are increasingly moving governance into more of show business and into more of political spin, more of promotion, more of advertising than really dealing with issues based on the facts and how they impact us.

The basic principle, of course, of our historic democracy, thankfully, continues to exist, and we must insist that it does continue to exist—the idea of a government by Constitution and adhering to the basic tenets of the Constitution, the separation of institutions that provide some semblance of power division among the executive and the legislative and judicial branches; the idea of public access, that people have an opportunity to participate fully in government, that people have an opportunity to have the background and the facts that are necessary to participate; the idea of disclosure—we talk about that a lot—majorities deciding the direction that we take in this country based on facts, rule of law. In short, a government of the people, by the people and for the people, of course, and these are basic elements of democracy.

An informed public is essential to that government of the people. Ironically, technology, which has provided us with the greatest opportunity to know more about what is happening more quickly than ever—can you imagine what it must have been like 100